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called *kari* in the right. When all is in readiness the women deftly slice off a piece of the taro, and with one motion send the fragment and the peeler across the head of the initiate to fall at the feet of the man waiting behind. The latter immediately smashes the peeler with his stick. This, I am informed, is a formal way of ending the tabu on the mother's cooking. Formerly, it appears, the cooking for the *ebamei* has not been done by his mother but by his *tata*; [1] henceforward after this rite his mother may cook for him without risk of any kind. It is said that this rite is once more a safeguard against baldness, the idea of which an Orokaiva so heartily hates. In other parts there is the custom of breaking a coco-nut above the initiate's head and allowing the fluid to fall over him; and for this the same reason (somewhat often called into service) is given, viz. that of preventing baldness.

But the partial fast of the initiates does not come to an end with the performance of this *ate-ate* ceremony. They are merely allowed to remove the heavier of their ornaments, a relief for which they must be heartily grateful. They continue to eat nothing more than banana and sugar-cane, and are still denied water until on the following day they eat the *suna*.

By this time all the guests have dispersed, carrying with them their presents of food, and the village is left very untidy indeed after the feasting, but in comparative quiet. The eating of the *suna* is a rite which pertains only to the initiates and their fellow villagers. The *suna* itself is a stew, a highly composite dish of which the ingredients seem to vary in different tribes. At Divina Kovari they were taro, pig flesh, *Tauga* nuts (*Terminalia Okari*), the fruit of the tree *Puga*, *Ina* (a kind of *andropogon*), and the leaves of the trees *Ega*, *Houra*, and *Sigoga*, and of the croton *simbiri*. The whole is stewed with the addition of coco-nut oil and pig's blood. I have been unable to discover any magical significance in any of these ingredients: except for the leaves, they are all

[1] Though other informants have said that the mother does cook for her own son while secluded. The matter is evidently of no great consequence, and the prohibition of the mother's cooking is not universal.

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The ideal Orokaiva is not a fat man, but well-conditioned.

Either by nature or by manner of life he is prevented from 'running to fat', so that the ideal never borders on adiposity. But he admires plumpness as he abhors skinniness. I was never able to discover a word in his language for fat, stout, or obese (indeed, there are, generally speaking, no such figures to be seen); but for a comparatively well-fleshed body he simply uses the word 'good'. Altogether I think we may attach a good deal of value to the native's own explanation of seclusion, and may conclude that the principal purpose of that seclusion is to make the initiate put on flesh, to bring him as near to an admired condition of plumpness as the physical make-up and the *milieu* of an Orokaiva will permit.

Just as the native admires a well-conditioned body, so he has a peculiar sensitiveness regarding physical deformity, and a horror of projecting bones and skinniness. An interesting evidence of this is found in the swear-words or terms of abuse which he uses. Besides such expressions as *Sovai-ta-mei* (son of a *sovai*) and *Pureambo* (waster or lazy-bones), there are *Temburite* (skinny-ribs), *Teperete* (spindle-shanks), *Kumuperete* (which means that the backbone is visible), *Abo-pokumo* (too much of the sacral vertebrae), *Utu-jabuti* (elephantiasis legs), *Tunga-dipori* (long neck), *Tengeu-pepeki* (big ears). Not a few of his ritual precautions are aimed at preventing these deformities, and it appears that he is specially liable to contract them at the end of his seclusion. Hence the precautionary and purificatory observances which we see at the end of the cycle. For instance, the initiate is not allowed to sit on the ground for fear of *haupeni* (elephantiasis of the scrotum). It is necessary to provide a mat for him to sit on while he is being decorated, and a log while he is being through the *ate-ate* ceremony. Similarly there are various precautions against baldness, which I have mentioned; and before he is quite free to come and go as he pleases he must pass through a general purificatory rite, viz. that of the *suna*. The object of the *suna* is expressly to prevent bodily deformities or afflictions such as the prevalent glandular swelling in the groin or the swelling or distortion of joints.

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girls who ended their seclusion together go down on foot to the river. Here they were washed by a number of older women, who engaged in a boisterous water-fight, and then all returned in a body dancing and singing extremely indecent songs.

After this bath at day-break the remainder of the morning is given to decorating the girl. Her skin is oiled again, the hair is shaved back a little from her forehead (merely for effect, I believe), and she is bedecked with feathers and ornaments.

The actual début of the girl, or in many cases of the girls, is made with some little dramatic effect. They have been brought together in one house, before which is set up a screen of palm-leaves with an opening or gateway concealed behind curtains of bark-cloth. When all is in readiness, the curtains are drawn apart and reveal the girls standing abreast, with a young man on either flank, apparently as escort. The girls are armed with spears or pineapple clubs; and in one hand they may carry a bunch of ripe betel-nuts, or a new-painted *bo*, rolled up, which will presently serve as a dancer's shawl. The striking feature of their make-up is the *bo* or bark-cloth skirt which they are actually wearing. This is of plain bark-cloth, unornamented save for splashes or smears of red; and in front and rear it has a hole which purports to expose their genitalia to the view of the onlookers. Thus attired the young women move slowly and in silence across the village and sit in a row on a log which their escorts have procured for them. After remaining some ten minutes on the log they rise and seat themselves on a coco-nut mat (*tere*) spread on the ground; and then after another ten minutes or so they rise once more and mingle with their friends. They will subsequently join in the dance which has been organized for the occasion, and they will not discard their ornaments till sunset. The ceremony has not ended until they eat the purificatory stew called *suma*, and steam their bodies over it.

I have never succeeded in obtaining any satisfactory explanation for the details of this procedure, i.e. the weapons, the betel-nuts, &c. The perforation of the *bo* is to the native

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an old custom: in after-life a girl would be put to shame if she were reminded that she had made her début without observing that inexplicable but important detail. Some said that the holes in the *bo* were safeguards against the bodily deformities and swellings which the Orokaiva so much dreads; though why they should have this effect remained a problem. It may be that the red smears on the bark-cloth were symbolical of menstrual blood, though no native witness gave that interpretation or any other to them. The sitting first on a log and then on a *tere* mat are both precautions against physical deformity: they exemplify the same ceremonial avoidance of contact with the ground which we have seen with initiates in the *kokumbari* ceremony. Lastly, the fumigation or steaming over the pot of *suna*, and the application of it to parts of the body, are all directed against the same possibility, that of physical deformity.

Among the southern tribes the girl continues to wear an ordinary *bo* (i.e. without perforation) after the ceremony. Among the northern she goes naked until her marriage.

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more usual cases of sun-magic, where a man is charged with causing a drought, it seems natural enough to employ this agency. We may suppose that it has become a set method and may therefore be employed without any thought as to its fitness for any special branch of activity.

A second agency regularly used by the sorcerer is that of weight or pressure. In the example given on pp. 173–4 we saw that the magician, after preparing his mixture, sat on it and even rocked his body to and fro in order to squash it the more effectively. Another method is to bury the mixture under a heavy stone which will exert just that gradual and unremitting pressure which suits the mood of the torturer. When a magical mixture is first concocted and stowed perhaps in the favourite receptacle, an internode of bamboo, the sorcerer will allow it to fall from his hand to the ground, or may throw it aloft and see it drop. If it meets the ground with a satisfactory thud, then it is assumed to have the requisite quality of weightiness; if it fall lightly he may bind it to a stone in order to make good the deficiency. Then, perhaps, he will bury it beneath his own mat, so that as he sits in his accustomed place he does so in the comfortable enjoyment of crushing his enemy.

The explanation of this method is similar, I believe, to that of the one just described, in which the agency of heat is employed. It is very common for an ailing native to say that he feels 'heavy' in part or the whole of his anatomy. The word, indeed, describes well enough the weakness or lassitude and the absence of sensations of energy which are common symptoms of tropical illness. It is just the weight of certain creatures, such as the crocodile, which constitutes the stated reason why they are sometimes tabooed to the doctor. If, I have been asked, the physician eats anything so heavy, how can he expect to banish the heaviness of the sick? Examining the varied contents of a man's *betava*—the string bag in which he carries the small indispensables of life—I once came upon a lump of very light pulpy wood, resembling

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cork, but even lighter. Its owner professed, whether truly or not, that he was in the habit of nibbling it, and made it clear that its very quality of lightness guarded him against possible sorcery. It was in fact an antidote or prophylactic. It seems feasible then that the original motive for weighing heavily upon the magical mixture was to induce the leaden feelings of illness in the destined victim.

The third of these set methods to which I am referring is that of throwing away the magical mixture. This is apparently not so common as the two above described. It is practised typically in the minor kind of sorcery called *ba-tetekari*, or 'throwing away the taro'. This expression, which has acquired a wider application, originally belongs to a particular kind of magic practised in the garden. It is unfortunately a common experience of the Orokaiva gardener to find that the fruits of his cultivation have been devoured in his absence by a thieving stranger. The only traces of the theft are the remains of the stolen goods—a few coco-nut husks, taro leaves, or the mangled stalks of sugar-cane. There is no clue to the identity of the thief, so the indignant owner must forgo the satisfaction of knowing upon whom his vengeance is to fall. However, he takes some left-over fragment—perhaps a piece of chewed sugar-cane which the marauder has unwarily failed to conceal. Then planting a strong resilient stick upright in the ground, he holds the fragment against the upper end, bends the stick back, and lets go. The chewed sugar-cane is catapulted out of the garden into the bush, and the man who chewed it becomes a *pure-hambo*, literally a non-worker, one who neglects his own garden. The effect of *ba-tetekari* would appear to be psychological. The victim of it becomes a waster and a ne'er-do-well, not only in his garden but in all his other activities. As a hunter, for example, he is unobservant and a laggard. I am not clear as to the scope of the phrase *ba-tetekari*. Its literal meaning—said to be 'throwing away the taro'—has been explained; but it appears to stand for any black magic of a minor or less deadly